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cannot speak of an "author" or "editor" of MH. Its text was hopelessly corrupt before it crossed the Alps, to be the parent of the mediæval martyrologies that, one and all, from Bede to Usuard, are rightly fathered upon it. Many monographs must be written on the original sources of MH, and an enormous apparatus of erudition gathered, before we can hope to look upon it in an intelligible shape. It is not a book in the ordinary sense, with a responsible writer, compiler, or editor, or with several. It is a reservoir into which, from East and West, during two memorable centuries, great floods and little rills poured their respective quotas. Only a society of savants could truly edit MH. And their edition would be a final and scientific history of the Christian persecutions, rather than the reproduction of a text that never had a definite form, but was, by its nature and the intention of its creators, fluid and receptive.

As it is in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists that MH has been constantly used for nearly three centuries, it is this monumental work that will be intimately affected by all critical studies on so important a source—a conclusion long since foreseen by the Bollandists themselves, notably by Father Victor de Buck (d. 1875). An immediate result will be the excision of many names from the "Index Sanctorum" of the supplement to the last October volume. Such works as Potthast's *Wegweiser* and the ordinary lexica of saints' names will also need revision in a scientific sense.

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COLLECTION DE DOCUMENTS POUR L'HISTOIRE RELIGIEUSE ET LITTÉRAIRE DU MOYEN AGE. Paris: Fischbacher, 1900.

Tome I: *Speculum Perfectionis seu S. Francisci Assisiensis.* Legenda antiquissima, auctore fratre Leone. Nunc primum edidit PAUL SABATIER. Pp. ccxiv + 376. Fr. 12.

Tome II: *Fratris Francisci Bartholi de Assisio. Tractatus de Indulgentia S. Mariæ de Portiuncula.* Nunc primum integre edidit PAUL SABATIER. Pp. clxxxiv + 204. Fr. 12.

PAUL SABATIER is known as the foremost living writer on all topics connected with St. Francis of Assisi. His *La Vie de S. François d'Assise* was crowned by the French Academy for its lucid style, its critical accuracy, and its sympathetic portrayal of the man and the period to which it relates. Since its appearance he has published a brochure on *L'Indulgence de la Portioncule*, and later the two volumes which I now review.

The first of these volumes is an addition of the highest importance to the documentary sources in which the life of the saint is to be studied, for, if Sabatier is right, it is the earliest of all. These documentary sources have a curious history. Thomas de Celano, a member of the Franciscan order, finished his "First Life of St. Francis" in 1229, about three years after the death of the saint. This is called "The First Life." A few years afterwards he wrote another life, dealing more fully with the early years, and gathering up materials concerning the later years omitted from his first work. This is known as "The Second Life." Still later, in 1244, three of the companions of St. Francis wrote a life, in which they enlarge the materials contained in "The Second Life." It is called "The Three Associates." One of the three was Leo, who had been for years the secretary of the saint, and knew him most intimately. Lastly, a fourth life was written by St. Bonaventura in 1260. He had known the saint well, and was now the general of the order. He added some things of value, but he purposely omitted all references to the suffering of the saint caused by the growing laxity of the order and its failure to observe strictly the vow of poverty, and made other alterations for diplomatic reasons. The diplomatic features of this work greatly commended it to the order, and the chapter general decreed that it should be regarded as the standard life, and that all its predecessors should be destroyed. Fortunately the decree was not obeyed everywhere, and a few copies of all of them escaped. In the eighteenth century the Bollandists discovered "The First Life" and the "The Three Associates." As they were Jesuits, and not affected by the decree to destroy these documents, or perhaps not informed of it, they published them in their *Lives of the Saints*. At the beginning of the nineteenth century "The Second Life" was discovered and published by Fr. Rinoldi, a Franciscan; for by this time the decree to destroy the earlier documents had lost its motive and been forgotten. Thus all the lost documentary sources seemed to be restored.

When Sabatier studied them with reference to his *Life of St. Francis*, he was convinced that "The Three Associates," as we have it, is incomplete. It appeared to be only a fragment of a larger work. He instituted a diligent search for the missing part. He did not find it; but he found something which he regards as far more important—a life of St. Francis by Leo, his secretary, written immediately after his death, and under the strongest impression of grief that his master had been taken from him. If Sabatier is right, we have in this document a

source for the life of the saint earlier than any other, and hence of the greatest possible value.

The new manuscript shows itself the earliest of all, first, by the multitude and accuracy of its references to the times, which give the story an aspect entirely original. It brings the localities more vividly before the reader, and it knows Assisi more intimately than any other of the documents. Its portrait of the saint is so fresh, so vivid, and so individual that it must have been written while the features were living in the memory, and before they had been reconstructed by reflection. The sayings of the saint are brief, pithy, and characteristic, and differ vastly in these respects from the long and polished speeches which Bonaventura puts into his mouth. The account of the last malady of the saint is so full and precise that a physician can easily understand it, and that it must have been written soon after the fatal termination. It has little or no reserve concerning the relations of St. Francis with St. Clara, and concerning the changed policy of the order in reference to the vow of poverty, topics which the later documents touch lightly or not at all. It is more frank than the other documents concerning the excursions of the saint into the regions of poesy, from which he brought back but a few indifferent laurels. It makes much of the first elaborate rule of the order, framed in 1221, as preferable to the modified rule of 1223. It makes relatively little of the predictive element in the sayings of the saint, which would grow rapidly after his death by the reports of credulous persons. In these and other ways the manuscript proves its very early origin and its exceptional value.

But if anyone should doubt the early date and the great value of the manuscript, Sabatier furnishes us a complete critical apparatus by means of which we may judge it. He gives us a biography of Leo, the author. He gives us an elaborate discussion of the relation of the manuscript to the other documents. He gives us a minute description of all the manuscripts containing a life of St. Francis. He gives us the text of the new manuscript. He gives us special studies of several of the more important chapters. Finally he gives us seven other documents which cast light upon the new manuscript and the claims which he makes for it. The volume is so rich in material, so critical, and so clear that it leaves nothing to be desired.

The second volume pertains to a question less interesting to the scholarly world, though considered very important by the Franciscan order. It is that of the so-called "indulgence of Portiuncula." The story is this: The church of Portiuncula, a dilapidated structure, was

given to the Franciscans by the Benedictines. The Franciscans repaired it. At this time Honorius III. ascended the papal throne, and St. Francis sought and obtained from him a declaration of indulgence from the guilt and penalty of all sin of whatever kind or degree for all who enter the church truly penitent and make confession, the indulgence to have force on only one day of each year. The story is inherently improbable, because it does not require alms or other service to the church, a condition in that age usually attached to an indulgence. Unfortunately St. Francis, according to the story, deemed the word of the pope sufficient, and did not secure a written statement, so that the best documentary evidence is lacking. The story has been attacked by many Roman Catholics, who do not approve this dispensation of the forgiving grace of God "without money and without price." Sabatier rejected it in his *Life of St. Francis.* He has since been led to study the evidences anew, and he now believes it. He gives us here the evidences on both sides, with elaborate discussions, so that every reader may weigh them for himself.

The method of Sabatier is to assemble the enormous number of early documents, some of them discovered only recently, in which the indulgence is mentioned, whether they emanate from the Franciscan order or from popular tradition, and to furnish a complete critical apparatus for the entire collection.

The arguments against the story are made to dissolve and disappear. One objection is based on the large embellishments which it received in process of time. But this, if applied consistently, would deprive us of all exact knowledge of St. Francis, for every act which he performed, from his birth to his death, is surrounded in the later literature with a halo of impossible legends. Another objection is based on the improbability that the pope would grant such an indulgence to an order but recently founded and but little known. It is proved by conclusive evidences, however, that the order had achieved an enormous extension, and had occasioned wonder and secured approval throughout the Catholic world. A third objection is based on the silence of several of the early biographers of St. Francis. But the argument from silence here, as elsewhere, proves very insecure. Some of these same biographers say nothing of his journey to Palestine or of his mission in Spain and France. St. Bonaventura, who wrote the official life of St. Francis, does not mention the earliest elaborate rule which the saint framed for his order, or his letters, or his last will. Yet "to write the history of St. Francis," as Sabatier

says, "without speaking of his testament, is as if one should write the life of Jesus and say nothing of the institution of the eucharist." The argument from silence breaks down in this case, as in so many others.

In favor of the story are the facts that it comes into the field very early, that it seems to be assumed as a background of well-known truth by those biographers who do not relate it, and that it fits the temper of St. Francis, of Pope Honorius III., and of the age to which it belongs.

Both the volumes are printed on the finest paper and from faultless types. The matter is arranged in that perfect order for which the French are distinguished, and with such differences of type and wide spacing as render it easily intelligible. It is a delight to read such books, and Sabatier is fortunate to be able to furnish them to the students of history, as even a wide sale would hardly repay him.

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HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By JOHN FLETCHER HURST. 2 vols. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1900. Pp. xxvi + 957; xxvi + 949. $5 each.

IN 1851 Dr. H. B. Smith could truthfully write:

> As a people we are more deficient in historical training than in almost any other wants of scientific research. We live in an earnest and tumultuous present, looking into a vague future, and comparatively cut off from the prolific past which is still the mother of us all. . . . . Americans love the abstractions of political theories and of theology better than we do the concrete realities of history. . . . . History is to us the driest of studies, and the history of the church the driest of the dry — a collection of bare names and facts and lifeless dates.

But now this is no longer true. A half-century has worked a revolution. We are wide awake to the fundamental position that history holds in all the great disciplines that together make up the world's thought and progress. Americans are making their share of contributions to the historical methods that prevail. A college without a chair of history is a back number, and in many cases the necessity for division in the department has been met.

Church history has not fallen behind, and has to show such works as have come from the pens of Fisher, Newman, Lea, Schaff, and Dr. Hurst.